1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

2. The Upper Liard Indians. This tribe consists of six families living along the Liard River from about eighteen miles north of the Alaska Highway crossing above Lower Post to within a hundred miles of that river's source. Their trapping ranges from the Cassiar Mountains on the west to the Simpson Mountains in the east, where they frequently encounter members of the Frances Lake Tribe. 101 131 619

3. The Dease River Indians are designated in the Indian Affairs Branch census as the Cacca Band. They occupy the basin of Dease Lake and Dease River north to Lower Post and also range west along Blue River and McDame Creek to the Height of Land.

4. The Nelson Indians are the most easterly of these four tribes.[8] They live east of Lower Post on both the north and south banks of the Liard River and range up the Hyland, Smith and, for a short distance at least, Muddy (or Kechika) Rivers. Families trapping south along the Muddy River meet the Taeloma and Bear Lake Indians (both Sekani groups). A number of Nelson Indians trapping south of the Liard and up the Muddy River appear to have identified themselves with the Taeloma through intermarriage. Eastward, the Nelson people hunt to the Rocky Mountains and in the past crossed these ranges to trade at Fort Nelson, from whence they derive their name.

In 1944-45, Lower Post, located at Milepost 620 on the Alaska Highway (Pl. 1), was the main trading post serving all of these tribes. A smaller outpost, supplied by air freight, served a portion of the Frances Lake Indians. Less than five years before, however, trading posts were in operation at McDame Creek, eighty miles up Dease River from Lower Post, and at the head of Dease Lake. 439 177

To the south and southwest the Kaska are adjoined by the Tahltan Indians, trading at Telegraph Creek on the Stikine River. To the west, across the barrier of the Cassiar Mountains, the Dease River and Upper Liard Indians occasionally meet the Taku Indians trading at Teslin Lake Post. Beyond the Taku are the Tlingit Indians, occupying the Alaska panhandle. On the north the Kaska are bounded by the Pelly River Indians (Tutchone nation). To the northeast are the Mackenzie (Mountain) Indians and, east, the Espatotena and Slave Indians of Fort Nelson, Nelson Forks, and Fort Liard. The Slave refer to the Kaska as "Grand Lakers," which is apparently a translation of tutlotena, the present day Kaska term of reference for the Frances Lake people. Occupying the middle and upper Muddy River are the Sekani bands already referred to, who divide their trade between Lower Post and Whitewater (Fort Ware), on the Finlay River. 101 131 177

[8] This statement would not hold if the present monograph included the Goat Indians, or Espatotena, who trade into Fort Liard and Simpson. In the system of classification adopted for the Northern Athapaskans, these people have commonly been grouped as Kaska (see Osgood, *The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* [1932], 396). Since such classification is primarily on a linguistic basis and because no study of the Espatotena has yet been reported, the validity of their classification with the Kaska may legitimately be questioned, especially if reason for doubt can be advanced. Contrary evidence comes from Old Man stating, on the basis of brief acquaintance with this tribe, that he could not too well understand their dialect. This suggests that the provisional grouping of the Espatotena with other Kaska tribes may be incorrect. [197]

A somewhat cursory examination of the dialect of the Taeloma people tends to warrant their exclusion from the Kaska nation, despite their proximity to the latter. See Jenness, *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia* (1937), 5, 12; Osgood, *The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* (1932), 17.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Language and Communication

The division of Kaska speech into four mutually intelligible dialects has already been discussed in connection with the tribal differentiation of the Kaska nation. These languages belong to the Athapaskan stock and, like most of the divisions of that group, are tone languages.

In addition to understanding the speech of the members of other Kaska tribes, most people can also manage to understand non-Kaska speakers from surrounding areas who use more distinctive Athapaskan dialects. The mutual intelligibility of the dialects has probably contributed to reducing the need for any marginal language. Some men understand and can speak a little Chinook, but this jargon is never used within the community.

To whites and, to a lesser degree, among themselves, the Kaska speak a variety of English which follows some of the rules of that language but possesses distinctive features of its own. Thus, for example, the feminine gender is usually ignored and the pronouns "he" or "him" are sometimes applied to both sexes and neuter objects. In replying to a question employing the negative, "Yes" is largely used instead of "No." Thus, "You don't know that story?" is answered, "Yes," if the speaker wishes to indicate a lack of knowledge. In speaking English, the sound l is substituted for r by most adults. A few French words have entered the language; *merci* is sometimes used for "thanks" and the adjective *li* is occasionally employed for "the." Several Tlingit words (like *gukdis* for "thank you") are also employed.

While orthography is of minor importance in this monograph, a brief statement of the signs used to represent some sounds occurring in the kinship terminology and elsewhere should be given. The vowels are:

i - as in English *eat*
ĭ as in English *it*
e front unrounded, somewhat like English *let*
æ as in English *hat*

Final vowels usually receive the weak stress found in the last sound of English *sofa*. A dot following other vowels than *i* indicates lengthening; in the case of *i* the dot signifies a high front unrounded vowel. The diphthong *aj* is pronounced as in English *my*.

Consonants are as in English, with some exceptions. The *t* is formed with the tongue against the lower teeth and is slightly voiced before most vowels. The dorsal lateral spirant *ł* is pronounced as in the Welsh. Other consonants include the voiced and voiceless dorsal spirants, *γ* and *x*; the glottal stop, *ʾ*; the voiceless apical slit spirant *θ*, and the frontal spirants *ł* and *ɬ*.

All of the data for the present study were collected in English; and, since some of this data has been published verbatim, some attention may be paid to the English vocabulary of the Kaska. The following list of words and phrases indicate the principal local usages developed for English words.

ANYBODY, *pron.* Everybody, as "anybody eat."

BOSS, *n.* A person who has the right to act upon, order, and care for an object, animal, place, or person, thus, "I'm boss for that woman."

2: Teit E-5 (1912-1915) 1917
ND12 Nahane ND12

KASKA TALES.[1]

BY JAMES A. TEIT.

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PREFACE.

THE following collection of tales or traditions is from the Kaska of the northern interior of British Columbia. The Kaska and Tahltan are closely related tribes of the Nahani division of the Athapascan stock, and occupy territories adjacent to each other. The Tahltan inhabit the whole region of the upper Stikine River, and extend easterly to Dease Lake and River, where they meet the Kaska, who claim the country from there down to the Liard. The Tahltan are thus chiefly on the Pacific drainage slope, and the Kaska altogether on the Arctic slope. Owing to their location, the Tahltan have an abundance of salmon in their country, while the Kaska have none. Both tribes live

[1] The present collection of Kaska tales, together with another one of Tahltan tales, was collected by Mr. J. A. Teit in the seasons of 1912 and 1915 in the region of Stikine River, British Columbia. These two seasons of field-work were devoted to a general ethnological investigation of the Tahltan and Kaska Indians, under the auspices of the Geological Survey of Canada. The present publication embraces the mythological results of the trips. Other aspects of the ethnology collected by Mr. Teit will be published by the Geological Survey from time to time in the form of special monographs. To facilitate the appearance of Mr. Teit's Tahltan and Kaska tales, the Geological Survey of Canada has authorized its Division of Anthropology to intrust their publication to the American Folk-Lore Society. — E. SAPIR, Head of Division of Anthropology, Geological Survey of Canada.

Albert Dease is a pure Kaska and probably the most prominent member of these people living in the Dease region, being looked upon as Chief. 115

Dandy Jim is a well known Tahltan noted for his affability and intelligence. He speaks the best English of any of the older Tahltan and also speaks Tlingit fluently. He is a member of the Nalakoten or Nahlin clan of the Raven Phratry.

INTRODUCTION - Nahani Tribal Divisions

The Tahltan and Kaska belong to the Déné or Northern group of the great Athapaskan family and linguistically are part of the division of this stock known as the Nahani. The two tribes speak closely related dialects and are neighbors. Their territories lie in the north-western interior of British Columbia generally speaking between the Cascade or Coast range of mountains in the West and the main Liard river to the East, and between latitudes 56° and 60° north. They form an extension of the Nahani to the south west, appearing as a point or wedge between the Tlingit to the west and northwest and the Nishga /Niska/ and Retikshen to the south (See map*). To the north is the main body of the Nahani, and to the east and southeast /are/ tribes of other divisions of the Déné. As the Tahltan and Kaska are the only occupants of Nahani south of latitude 60°, or at least the only Nahani tribes with headquarters south of 60° in British Columbia they may be named for convenience the Southern Nahani. The rest of the Nahani occupy a wide stretch of country extending north to at least between latitudes 64° - 65° north and, according to my present information, consist of some six recognized tribes or rather divisions speaking slightly divergent dialects. I have not as yet been able to determine the degree of divergence in the various dialects but if what information I have can be depended on in many cases the differences of dialect are slight, or less than between the Tahltan and Kaska. 101 131 197 131 197

The exact number and names of the Nahani divisions, it seems, can never be known exactly or definitely until most of the country occupied by them has been visited and the northern bands interviewed. So far I have been among the southern bands only. Other things which render the subject difficult and 101

* Map to appear in one of the forthcoming issues.

101 add to confusion are:

1) Two or more names are sometimes applied by different peoples (and even the same people) to one and the same band or division, and, again, two seemingly distinct divisions are sometimes called by the same name.

101 131 2) The nomadic nature of some of the bands, their wide range of wanderings; and the absence of well-defined boundaries of tribes and bands, etc.

3) The overlapping of territories in some places for periods of years and even occasional overlapping of headquarters of bands, or migration of families and bands (sometimes temporarily) into old territories of other bands seeking better facilities for trading or hunting. It seems that some of these people then lose their old names and are called by new names or sometimes by the name of the people in whose country they settle.

101 4) Lack of the tribal sides /sic/ or of tribal differentiation among some of the Indians themselves - several of whom may call themselves by one name at one time and another name at another, because they may have lived or made their headquarters for a number of years at each of two or three localities, thus seemingly looking upon themselves as being entitled to one name as much as another. This is made all the easier because nearly all the designations of groups of people among the Athabaskans are really not designations of peoples as such, or tribes, or nations, but have reference only to locality or environment, which, if changed by the people, the term by which they are known soon becomes inapplicable. Besides this, some of the designations for groups of people are very general terms not derived from specific place-names, such as 'mountain or high ground people,' 'by /the/ lake people,' etc., terms which may be easily used for widely different peoples. However, although peoples are thus loosely designated by names of their general headquarters still there is evidence that a number of the names of divisions and tribes are quite old; the people carrying the names have made their headquarters in the same general locality for a long time back.

101 ●197 619 One other thing which may be mentioned here is that although tribes of other linguistic stocks are

generally well differentiated in the minds of the Indians, - excepting perhaps in a few places where there has been much intermixture or intermarriage, - tribes of Athabaskan lineage are not differentiated in the same way. The Indians seem to consider all within their ken as bands or scattered groups of the one family speaking the same kind of language differing only in slight degree in certain localities. They seem to take no cognizance, for instance, of the linguistic groups of Nahani, Sekani and Slave. With them, on the whole, the closer the dialect or the linguistic relationship seems to them the closer the blood relationship is thought to be. However, if a dialect /of, for instance,/ Nahani, seems to differ more or be less understandable to them than a dialect of Sekani, they will consider the latter the closer related, although the former is the closer of the two in-reality or according to the White man's point of view. It seems the languages of the Nahani group and the Sekani and Slave groups are on the whole rather closely related, although sufficiently distinct for separate grouping. Perhaps partly owing to this reason, the Indians have hardly any sense of the groupings.

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In the Handbook of American Indians the following are given as the divisions of the Nahani group.

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1.	Tahltan	Tahltan Division	Drainage basin of Stikine River and its tributaries as far as the mouth of Iskut River, Dease Lake, and the river halfway to McDames Creek the northern sources of the Nass and some of the southern branches of the Taku in Alaska and British Columbia,
2.	Takutine		Teslin River and Lake and upper Taku River, the basin of the Big Salmon River extending north to the Pelly River and east to the Upper Liard River.
3.	Titshotina	Kaska Division	Between the Cassiar Mountains and the Liard and Dease Rivers.
4.	Etagottine		

5. Esbataottine (Bighorn people?) Mountains between the Liard River and the Peace River, British Columbia.

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Of the list of tribes obtained from the Tahltan and Kaska the following appear to be Nahani.

1. Tahltan	They speak one dialect of the Nahani which may be called Tahltan.
2. Sêzotêna	McDames Creek, Dease River, Muddy River and generally between Cassiar Mountains and the Liard.
3. Titcotêna	Upper Liard River and Hyland River. They adjoin No. 2 in the north.
4. Nā.ânî	Pelly River Indians. All the upper Pelly River. These people adjoin No. 3 in the north. According to the Kaska, Nos. 2 and 3 talk exactly the same dialect and No. 4 differs only in the slightest degree. These divisions speak a second dialect of the Nahani which may be called Kaska.
5. eiyô.na	Adjoining the Pelly River Indians on the north, most of them on a large river which joins the Pelly, probably the Macmillan. They probably extend beyond to the head of the Stewart also. These people speak a slightly different dialect from the Kaska, my informants saying /that/ a good many words were more or less different. They will thus form a third division of the Nahani dialectically.
6. Little Salmon River Indians (my informants had forgotten their Indian name)	On the Little Salmon River bordering, it is said, on 4 and 5. It is not clear whether their dialect is the same as /that/ spoken by No.5. It is said to differ rather

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considerably from Kaska. One informant said 'these Indians speak quite a little different from Kaska.' They speak nearer to the dialect of No. 5 but he thought not the same. Possibly these people form a fourth dialectic division or they may fall in the same group with No. 5. The Tahltans claim they have very hard work to understand them.

7. Espātoten or histoten — The Goat tribe or Mountain Indians adjoining No. 3 on the east. On the upper Beaver River and in the mountains across the North and South Nahani Rivers between the Liard and Mackenzie Rivers. Speak a slightly different dialect from Kaska. Some informants said they talk very fast and some of their words are different from Kaska. When they speak slowly the Kaska can understand them fairly well.
The speech of these people may form a third dialect of the Nahani.

8. tsetsexotēna — The habitat and affiliations of this tribe are uncertain, but it seems they probably belong to the Nahani group and inhabit the mountains north of No. 7. The Kaska were not clear as to the relationship of their speech and their exact habitat.

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These divisions appear to comprise all the Nahani people known to the Tahltan and Kaska. There may however be other Nahani divisions unknown to them further to the north. As will be seen from the map, these peoples occupy territories contiguous to each other in a wide strip running north from about latitude 56 to latitude 64 north. I did not hear of any Nahani bands east of

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

category. Since the name "Kaska" has already been applied to the Indians of this area we will continue to follow this nomenclature for the several tribes who aboriginally inhabited the region delimited above. Constituting the Kaska community or nation were five macrocosmic bands or tribes here designated Natitu?agotena, Kistagotena, Tselona, (E)spatotena, and Tutcogotena. Each of these will now be identified more closely. 101

1. The Natitu?a'gotena, "Dwellers at a High Sharp Mountain Where a Little River Starts" (synonymy: Upper Liard Kaska) are the Indians who occupied the area close to the source of the Liard River as well as the banks of that stream extending southeast to the canyon located where today the border of Yukon Territory crosses the Liard. This canyon is about eight miles above Lower Post. Some of the Upper Liard people spent every winter at Watson Lake and in season others visited the Pelly River to fish for salmon.

2. South and southeast of the Natitu?agotena were the Ki'stagotena, "Mountain Dwellers" (synonymy: Dease River Kaska), who might also be referred to as the Kaska proper because it is this group to whom the name originally applied. The designation Mountain Dwellers becomes somewhat gratuitous when applied to a single group, since in the fall most of the Cassiar Indians hunted on the mountain slopes. The people living along McDame Creek above its junction with Dease River were also known as Onzana. The total range of the Kistagotena included the valleys of the Dease south from the Liard to the head of Dease Lake, where a divide separated them from the Tahltan. Eastward they extended about halfway to Sifton Pass, where the Kechika River is formed. West the Dease River Kaska ranged as far as the Cordillera.

3. The Tse'lona (synonymy: Nelson Indians), a word variously translated as "Mountain Top," "End Point," or "Point at Which is Located the End of the World," are apparently Jenness' and Osgood's Tzezotena. They occupied the area east of the Kistagotena and along the Kechika River. The establishment of Fort Nelson after 1800 attracted these people beyond the borders of the Cassiar to trade at that post on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. Among the Sekani and Slave Indians who frequented the Nelson River Valley the Tselona became known as Grand Lakers and came much to be feared for sorcery.[30] Today in Lower Post at least some Indians from the middle Liard are called Nelson Indians. Morice identified the "Tse-loh-me" with the Etchere-ottine or Brushwood People and estimated their population at 350. He located them on the Liard, immediately east of the Rocky Mountains.[31] We would be less inclined to overlook distinctions between the people of the middle Liard (Tselona) and the Etca?otena of Fort Nelson. Contemporary members of the former group complained of being unable to understand the speech of the Fort Nelson Slave. Historically, after the European traders crossed the Rocky Mountains, the Tselona traded at Chee House, which was built about 1880 at the mouth of the Kechika. This post was later shifted inland. Today [197]

[30] Honigmann, *Witch-Fear in Post-Contact Kaska Society* (1947), 223.

[31] Morice, *Great Dené Race* (1906-10), 270-271, 507. The dictionaries of the Oblate Fathers, which the author consulted at Fort Nelson, define the Slave word sayoune as "male mountain sheep." If sayoune and tselona are cognates we conclude that there could have been both Sheep People and Goat People in the eastern Kaska area or that the same group was designated in two ways.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

101 the people visit Forts Ware and Grahame as well as Lower Post. In some census reports the Tselona are listed as "Fort Grahame Nomads."

4. North and northeast of the Tselona were the (E)spa'totena, "Dwellers among the Wild Goats," or "Goat Indians," also referred to as Gata'otena, "People who Hunt Rabbits" (synonymy: Abbatotine, Esbataottine, Ambawlawhoot denneh, Espatoten, Histotina). These people inhabited the area north of the Liard, including the drainages of the Beaver, South Nahanni, and perhaps Upper Nahanni rivers. With contact some came to trade at Fort Halkett and Lower Post while others congregated at Fort Liard. At the latter place Bishop Grouard designated them People of the Mountains and Bad People. Future research may indicate more clearly where the eastern boundary of the Espatotena is to be drawn in order to separate them from the Mountain Indians. [197] One informant (O) denied that, on the basis of dialect similarity, the Espatotena could be related to their western neighbors. Claiming to have spent a year with this group, he illustrated some differences between the Natitu'agotena and Espatotena dialects. Thus his word for meat, etsun, was said to be rendered a'apa by the latter, a reference probably to goat; moose, gatɔ, becomes gulon (as in Fort Nelson); caribou, gutri, becomes matsi, and sheep, depe, becomes duga.

5. By Tu'tcogotena ("Big Water Dwellers" (synonymy: Frances Lake Kaska; Titshotina; Titcotena; Tzazi'a'otena, "Flint Mountain Dwellers," and Tutcomenagotena, "Big Water Lake Dwellers") is indicated the Indians who formerly and at the present time occupy the area around Frances Lake and upper Frances River. Sometimes these people ranged east and south to the headwaters of the Hyland and Smith rivers. Like the word Kistagotena the designation Big Water People is not descriptively exclusive since the Finlay, Liard, and Dease rivers have all at various times been called "Big Water" by Indians.[28] Hence the people inhabiting the shores of these streams may logically be referred to as Big Water Dwellers. In 1926 a police patrol to Frances Lake reported that "the country between the canyons on the Frances River is a natural game preserve. The Frances Lake Indians do not hunt south and the Liard Indians do not go further north than the first canyon. The country between is therefore untouched."[29] This statement may be taken as evidence of a distinction between the Upper Liard and Frances Lake Indians. The designation for the people, Flint Mountain Dwellers, was suggested by an informant familiar with the habit of the Indians to hunt in the vicinity of a certain source of flint. Two informants said that the Frances Lake people could also be called Terahan, a term otherwise used for the Pelly River people.

These then constitute the groups whom it is proposed to include in the Kaska nation. The meaning of the term Kaska is itself difficult to elucidate. According to George Adsit, a white man with a fair knowledge of the Athapaskan language, the word means "old moccasins" and was originally bestowed on the Dease River Indians as a term of opprobrium by their Tahltan neighbors. According to a Tahltan informant from Telegraph Creek, the Tahltan refer to the Kaska as Kɔswa, a word whose meaning was inexplicable to him. A Kaska Indian (WT) said that the people referred to themselves as

[28] Morice, *Fur Trader in Anthropology* (1928), 63.
[29] Canada, *Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (1926), 83.